434 [513] [431] [525] was in recognition of kinship obligations including bride price and gifts while 49 per cent of income was derived from these sources.

Gambling does not appear to be common within the village but intervillage visits are not infrequently arranged for this purpose. Few men in the sample claimed any significant winnings or losses for the year but during our stay some men, in one evening's gambling, lost $22 to members of another village who had already won $10 from them in 1962.

454 None of the 12 householders were holding personal savings at the time of our survey; in 3 instances where men had formerly been wage-earners for some time they had opened Savings Bank accounts which they retained.

A son's wife living with 1 householder had received some money from her kinsmen and some from her husband who was absent in employment. The money had been banked but was not recorded in our survey.

Apart from $60 in savings certificates maturing in 1966 which are contributions to joint accounts (see Appendix B), the ratio of current savings ($10 per household) to annual income is 1:2.7. Savings had decreased by 40 per cent during 1962 but income also seems to have been considerably higher in the previous year.

In a sample of 13 men from a nearby area in 1951 Belshaw (1951:12) found that only slight withdrawals had been made from pass books issued about 2 years earlier under the War Damage Compensation scheme; almost no deposits had been made. The average account had a balance of £4 with a range from £1.17s. to £8.1s. The same people claimed to hold other cash in hand ranging [131] from nil to £39 with an average of just under £10. A small part of this may have been cash payments made under the scheme. Refugees from the Mt Lamington eruption received other payments later from a relief fund. We could obtain no reliable information to account for any money received by members of our sample on either occasion.

436 The evidence is slight but a comparison of the 2 small samples suggests the possibility that with an increase over 10 years in the range of sources of income and in consumer demand, money is now circulating more freely in the area.

[301] [23] [321] [555] Shell and bone ornaments (hambo) and head-dresses (di) - made from feathers of the bird-of-paradise, mountain parrots, hornbills and cassowaries - known collectively as di hambo, are held by the people of Sivepa as a category of wealth, items in ceremonial presentations and as objects of display. In traditional Orokaiva society these are prestige tokens but seem never to have served as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

A. [See Category 484, pp. 107-108--Analyst]

461 Contracting and casual employment near the village are the most popular forms of paid work, since it is possible to maintain subsistence production and even cash crops at the same time.

(iv) Remittances. Remittances are closely related to the number of absentees. Few Orokaiva have been eligible for skilled work because of the limited educational opportunities available 166 until very recently.[1] Those in employment almost invariably see themselves as being only temporarily absent from their villages[2] and therefore feel the need to maintain kinship links and settle obligations. They normally return to their villages for leave and, if married, may leave their families in the village in the care of relatives, since few employers provide married accommodation.

431 Single remittances are frequently of the order of $10 in cash or comprise gifts of clothing, tobacco, transistor radios and similar storebought goods beyond the financial reach of most villagers. The recipients say that they would like to reciprocate with gifts of food, particularly taro, but are precluded from it by the problems of posting or air-freighting heavy and perishable goods.

443 (v) Other sources of income. Since Papuans became eligible to 434 hold licences to trade in 1959, several Orokaiva men have estab- [438] lished trade stores. Their stocks are fairly limited and include rice, tinned foods, sugar, tobacco and small household goods. Since 1963, most have obtained their supplies from Oro Ltd and many have shares in this company. A number of the stores have experienced operational difficulties on account of the pressures of kin for credit or special favours, but some of the Orokaiva owners in 1964 were operating at a profit. One such store was established in Inonda in 1963.

525 Gambling with cards is illegal but is nevertheless popular. Orokaiva villagers play among themselves for areca or matches, although they prefer to play for cash against plantation or road labourers and settlers. Villagers sometimes win large sums in this way.[3] A winner is usually expected to return some of his gains to

---

[1] Dakeyne (1965:94), however, found a high proportion of skilled men amongst the Yega people, who have had the longest educational experience in the Northern District, with a school at Gona since 1910.

[762] [2] Only two of the absent Sivepa men had not sent presents home for several years. One committed suicide in 1964; the other stated categorically that he had no intention of returning to the village, but in fact did return on leave at the end of 1965.

[3] A Hohota man won $60 in one session with the Girua block settlers and Dakeyne (1966b:37) cites a case of a Yega man winning $86 from plantation labourers.

525 the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

461 (vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the [65] period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about [623] March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its [797] annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions [436] to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

366 Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

454 Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCGS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

241 Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income [774] is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western [493] Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

---

[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

the nuts to the drier. The various stages of processing took up 12.4 man-hours and 7.5 man-hours were spent in bagging and selling the 75 lbs of copra. The entrepreneur sold the copra to the Motu Native Co-operative Society at Oro Bay and by getting a lift there and back he spent only 4.4 hours on what would have been a 10-hour journey by foot. The total input of labour on the second batch of copra was 30.7 man-hours and the total return was $2.32, or under 8c per man-hour. This return disregards establishment and maintenance costs; however, as the palms used had been planted for subsistence purposes and maintenance is rare, the additional costs were negligible. They would only become significant if people planted large numbers of trees specifically for copra. This was the intention of several men. As is shown on pp.292-3, the return to labour in copra production is higher than the normal return from casual labouring and during 1965, after the survey had ended, copra was made regularly by the villagers, including the four men who had obtained work in Popondetta. Assuming that the efficiency of harvesting and processing increased with experience, it seems likely that the cash returns also increased during 1965.

(ii) Other activities. Involvement with the external agencies takes an average of 3.2 hours per person per week. Most of this time is spent by women in cleaning the village area, defined as 'council work', which also includes a total of 42.5 hours spent by villagers in the first week paying taxes to the council. Church services occupy 0.9 hours a week; the entrepreneur holds a half-hour weekly service in the chapel and sometimes people go to larger services at Ijika church, particularly for major church festivals and confirmation ceremonies. People from the neighbouring villages of Hosou and Hahemo often attend the chapel services, which are also a social occasion, with people in their best clothes and even gambling afterwards. Perhaps mainly for this reason, non-Christians occasionally attend the services as 'hearers' (in the mission terminology). Little time is spent on purchasing goods in trade stores. The most regularly used stores are the one in the village, those at Ijika and the settlement blocks (which are about one hour's walk from Inonda), and those in Popondetta - particularly Oro Ltd's store and stores owned by Chinese - about 2.75 hour's walk away. Despite the distance to Popondetta, it is frequently visited, often by getting a lift from a passing truck (or, during the survey, from the researchers). Little time was spent in meetings: 57.6 man-hours were spent on the day of polling for the House of Assembly and most of the rest was expended by the entrepreneur in discussions with administrative and agricultural personnel in Popondetta. In addition, one woman attended the Hohota Women's Club meetings during period I before the club ceased functioning.

Social obligations involve individuals for an average of 4.2 hours per week. During 1964 in Inonda, only 0.2 hours per week (76 hours in all) were related to life crises and these were almost

deposited in the savings account but was kept as cash-in-hand. None of the household's expenditure was in the form of gifts; most was in impersonal transactions and the rest in commercial exchanges with village people. 511

Household 16 has a slightly higher income than household 24, but three times the expenditure, so that its excess of income over expenditure at January 1965 was only $4.78. The main sources of income were sales of coffee, marketing and labouring. The wife's mother received 10 per cent of the household income in the form of gifts from close kin. 434

Household 20 also has a comparatively high level of income and expenditure and an excess of income of only $2.82. Just over one-half was from gambling and a further one-sixth from marketing; this household has no cash crops.

Household 21, which is establishing coffee but derived no income from cash crops, has a gross income of $48.60 and an excess over expenditure of $7.04, which was the second highest in the village. This was derived from a wider range of sources and was more evenly distributed among them than the income of most other households. Over one-fifth was received in gifts, mostly from the wife's relatives, many of whom are wage earners.

Household 17 owns 107 coffee trees but sales of coffee were less important as a source of its income than labouring, even though labouring on the main road occupied only one week early in the survey and labouring on the contract gang ten days during December. Expenditure by households 16, 17, 20 and 21 was mostly on tax payment and store purchases, but 17 per cent of the expenditure of household 20 and 5 per cent of household 21 comprised gambling losses. [511] [525]

The remaining three households had a low level of income and an excess of expenditure for the eleven months. Household 18 received its entire income as gifts from wage earners and fellow villagers, as did household 19, apart from a small sum from the researchers. Expenditure was exclusively in purchasing, but the widower (household 19) lost $1 while washing his clothes in a stream. Household 21 was present for only the first 13 weeks of the survey. Its income was derived from labouring for a settler on the Girua block and from sales of subsistence produce to villagers. Expenditure, which exceeded income by $4.04, was mostly in trade store purchases. The household head did not pay the council tax and was later jailed for three months. After leaving Inonda, he continued to work occasionally for settlers but no details of his income were collected.

The majority of cash transactions are with organisations: this applies to expenditure even more than to income. Many of the transactions with villagers represent payments for specific goods and services that are usually related to the cash sector, such as 437 434 511

assistance in picking coffee, rather than to the traditional network of exchange. The relative significance of the different sources of income and directions of expenditure varies considerably between cash croppers as a group and non-cash croppers. The sources of income and directions of expenditure for the 11 months period are shown for these two groups in Table 11:14.

It is important to bear in mind in interpreting Table 11:14 that it represents a very small population and particular individuals have a great influence on the figures. In addition, whereas 10 of the people in cash cropping households were resident for at least half of the survey period, only 8 of the people in non-cash cropping households were and only 3 of these latter were under 40 years of age. Thus, opportunities for acquiring cash income were quantitatively less for the non-cash cropping group. A further distorting factor is the role of the researchers in causing increases in income and, perhaps, in substituting for expenditure in the cases of tobacco and clothing for instance. However, any attempt to exclude extraordinary sources of income would make the levels of expenditure difficult to explain, and the data for income from all sources are given.

Cash croppers receive 71 per cent of the total income of the village and account for 78 per cent of the cash disposals. However, sales of cash crops account for only 8 per cent of total income and, with the OCGS dividend, for only 13 per cent of cash croppers' income. By contrast, contracts between the Administration and the entrepreneur account for 19 per cent of total village income. Some $43, or 6 per cent of total village income, is received from the entrepreneur by other villagers in the form of payments and gifts.

Small gifts and loans are next in importance to the entrepreneur's activities as a source of income for the village as a whole. The cash croppers acquired most of this money, but it is relatively more significant for non-cash croppers, owing to their lower level of income. The same is true of marketing, which yields 11 per cent of total income, and, to a lesser extent, of paid employment, which is more evenly divided between the two groups. Gambling winnings came to the same amount as income from cash crops but, when losses are taken into account, gambling is rather less rewarding although it still accounts for 6 per cent of village income. Gifts from wage earners comprise 13 per cent of the village income; such gifts formed over one-third of the income of non-cash croppers, but only 5 per cent of cash croppers' income. The figures suggest these gifts are made particularly to help relatives who have no income from cash crops. It is noteworthy in this context that, of the $16.50 received by cash croppers from wage earners within the District, $14.60 was received by the household that is only now establishing a coffee garden and as yet, derives no income from it.

434 438 each Saturday morning doubled in the 18 months prior to this study but still only about 15 families per week sent in produce for sale. Larger numbers of Yega attended on Saturdays following the fortnightly administration pay day than on the alternate Saturdays. Cash income obtained by Yega also more than doubled in the same period (from a weekly average of $1.35 per participating family in January 1963 to $2.80 per family in July 1964).

434 431 iii. Gifts from relatives in paid employment. In 1964 this was the main source of cash income of most Yega villagers. Almost invariably the young men in paid employment sent monetary gifts home to their relatives in the village. A sample group of 18 such workers earning an average $610 per annum in cash or kind remitted an average of $90 per head per annum to their relatives in the villages.

434 525 iv. Gambling. As gambling is illegal, people were reluctant to divulge details. Nevertheless, for some men gambling constituted an important source of income. The stakes in domestic games of 'Lucky' were usually betel nuts, but in games with outsiders always cash. Yega gamblers aimed particularly to relieve the workers on nearby plantations of their wages. On one observed occasion a Yega man won $86 in one night in such a game.

434 Sources of additional income for two sample groups are summarized in Table 3 below:

Table 3

Additional sources of cash income of Yega villagers during 1962

(431)

Classification	Personal effort	Gifts	Other*
Holders of cocoa blocks (sample of 25)	8	17	2
Non-holders of cocoa blocks (sample of 14)	8	9	Nil

* This includes savings and gambling (one informant in each). Some persons received income from two sources.

434 431 The holders of blocks received more gifts than non-holders of blocks. The main reason for this is that most blockholders had sons or brothers of working age. Many of these worked in paid employment and, by making gifts to blockholders, were ensuring reciprocity of gifts in the future. Table 3 shows only gifts received by people living at home. Monetary gifts were rarely given by the village people but when the 'outside workers' returned for holidays in the village they were fed, boarded and feasted free.

494 511 dents of the village and £7 from non-resident kin. Of the gifts of money £3 came from resident kin and the balance from kin living elsewhere. The feast donations (with the exception of a few shillings) were given by non-residents, some of whom were kin, but most of whom were acquaintances living within a radius of several miles.

Food and household costs constitute the major item of expenditure, but a considerable proportion of the imported food is purchased for funerals, feasts and the entertainment of visitors. Part of the food costs may therefore be considered as costs of meeting social obligations. Within the local community, money is distributed through domestic obligations to provide for visitors and kin, and also through ceremonial (usually related to life crises) when cash and other property are 525 exchanged. Probably the greatest cause for its circulation within the community, however, is gambling. Men who are earning wages usually gamble at least once a week and from observation of several games it seems that each player brings from 3/- to £1/-/- or more. Although the winner for the evening usually gives back a token sum to each loser, he retains most of the money himself. It is understood that gambling is widespread in the area.

511 494 Seven of the eight families had some cash in hand (we have shown this as "savings" though it was not necessarily specifically set aside as savings). The councillor looked after his own money, most of which he kept in a savings bank account. Only one other man had a savings account, and in it he held both his own and his son-in-law's money. The son-in-law felt reluctant to ask for money from the account except to meet social obligations. Two half-brothers (one married and the other single) gave most of their money to their father who seems to have made the decisions about expenditure for the extended family as a whole. The two other men in the village were responsible for looking after their own savings. As with non-monetary valuables, cash and bank books are usually cared for by women, but they have little or no say in the purposes for which the money is spent.

657 of these four households one of the resident families intends to
423 build or is building a house into which it will move shortly.

182 Many who have remained in their village have erected temporary
592 shelters on their blocks in which they spend one or two nights at a time. None of the Tara people has left the village, but no one
657 has to walk more than ten minutes to reach his block.
423

Five of the six men who have moved with their families on to the
182 blocks are living in two hamlets. In the first settlement, about
361 twenty-five minutes' walk from Ombi village, two men have built houses on their own blocks on either side of the access road. In addition, they have built a 'meeting house' in which passers-by can sit and chat, and a latrine. One is the son of the other's mother's brother.

In the second settlement, about forty-five minutes' walk from Ombi, three households are situated on one block. The three households belong to the blockholder, his sister's son (who holds an adjacent block) and his father's brother (who is not a blockholder).

[789] The sixth man to have moved from the village claimed that one of the old men at Ombi was destroying his taro by practising sorcery, and moved to his block, ten minutes' walk from the village, to protect it.

[592] Apart from this last man those who have moved to the blocks are living in small kinship groups rather than as individual farmers
[484] each on his own block. In addition, each of the block residents
[525] spent a considerable amount of time in Ombi village during our stay, particularly while gambling during the weekends. One brought his family to Ombi after his wife had a baby and stayed for a few days in the house of a kinsman.

Although only six men have moved to the blocks, another twenty said they would like to do so in order to be able to work on their rubber away from the distractions of village life, like Council and mission work. Most of these people said that they were 'not allowed' to move. Some said it was Administration policy that people should stay in their villages and quoted particular officers (from two different departments) who had told them not to leave the village. Some said that they were not allowed to move to the blocks until they had a 'licence' (possibly a reference to the title document) or until all the people in Papua-New Guinea had done so, or until the local member of the House of Assembly had been told about it in the House. Some said that they should not move until the Administration told them.

Three people said the Administration favours villagers living on their blocks. Two of these do so and the third said he is waiting till the other villagers move before he moves.

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Christ does not, like traditional work, have a palpable virtue such that the good man will succeed at it while the bad man will fail. Anyone at all can succeed at New Guinea wage labour – *wok mani tasol* as it is called in Neo-Melanesian.[22] Yet this money, when it enters the village gift exchange circuit, will establish claims to status on an equal footing with wealth available only to cultivators with real traditional power (*ivo*).

It is this anomaly that appears to have been coped with by the New Guinea gambling system. The game called *laki* (lucky) is supposedly a game of pure chance but if chance is with you it shows that a powerful ancestor is supporting you. Your luck at the game shows your spiritual resources just as luck at gardening shows this. It is the people with weaker ancestors who lose. Medicines are also used to improve luck, but they are secondary. Evidence for supranatural intervention is that the results of the game, instead of being random as one would expect from the rules, always favour the same individuals. Whether these individuals play honestly I cannot tell, as the game goes on day and night and only a very weak lantern is used at night, my tilley lamp being considered unsuitable.

Laki is played by Orokaiva especially when the coffee proceeds have just been distributed and generally whenever a large number of community members receive money from non-traditional sources simultaneously. Play may continue for several days without interruption, until all the money is cleaned up by a single winner. This redistribution restores the traditional status pattern disturbed by the culture hero Jesus Christ.

Playing cards are outlawed in Papua New Guinea; nobody is allowed legally to possess them or to import them. Though this legislation was a response to popular pressure, it was in the churches that the pressure was in fact generated. It is thus hoped that New Guineans will eventually allocate status on the basis of the mere possession of money. The total inefficacy of this government legislation shows that New Guineans have great difficulty in accepting this secularized concept of work and status. Magico-religious tests have the function of hallowing money. They also assert the supremacy of traditional work concepts over modern ones.

Alienation in the Creation of Use Values

It is especially the French Marxist africanists such as Terray, Meillassoux, Auge,[23] who have alerted us to the prevalence of exploitation in tribal or lineage-societies where anthropologists